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Human Events — THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 41 October 13, 1960 Section I — News

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The Jugular: With a mediocre climate now and unpromising prospects for '61, business, as a topic, claims first importance in the minds of the politicos. That's where the labor issue comes—or should come—to the fore, say the professionals. For it is a truism by this time that extravagant labor settlements, enforced upon industry by the Labor Bosses, have priced many workers out of the market. "What's the good of getting $4 an hour, and then have no job?"—is the language that the long-suffering rank-and-filer of the union understands.

This is the "jugular" of the Democratic ticket for which a revivified Nixon must reach, to get his campaign off the ground. So say the pros. The Kennedy camp cannot face up to this issue—since it is controlled by the Labor Bosses. As proof—note how Kennedy last week promised Labor Boss George Meany to abolish some of the labor reform laws.

Early last week, the Ike Administration, through Secretary of Labor Mitchell, took a step which may signify a sharp warning that the GOP Administration means business in enforcing its own bill, Landrum-Griffin, the greatest labor reform measure enacted since Taft-Hartley.

Mitchell filed an injunction to set aside an allegedly rigged union election of Joe Curran's National Maritime Union. More moves like this, and promises for further and more fundamental labor reforms, to reduce the power of the labor oligarchy over its members and the whole economic system, could rack up more political mileage than a dozen other planks in the platform. The large segment of "uncertain" voters could then feel surety that a vigorous policing of labor would give business a chance to recover rapidly. So runs much of the thinking among pros in Washington.

One highly influential national newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor* (often criticized as too "liberal"), spotlighted the important labor issue, on October 4, in announcing its backing for Nixon. It said Kennedy has made a particular effort to identify himself with and obtain the endorsement of labor unions, but that Nixon says he would not be for unions in every situation because a President must put the interests of all people first.

This is the "jugular." This is the "touchy" issue which so far the nervous nellies in the Republican GHQ have feared to grasp firmly. If they did, it would provoke unheard of howls of rage from the "liberal" Democrats and accusations that "the old Nixon" has returned. (Among the pros, it's a touch-stone today that when the Democrats have to cry "old Nixon," that means they are in serious trouble.) To the public, wearied of over-worked issues, "Reuther and recession" from the mouth of Nixon would provide the decisive "shocker" of the whole campaign. In his present extremity—few will disagree—he needs it.

Ike's Role: The President's thorough and unqualified endorsement of Nixon for his successor has done much to still critics among the Democrats who have charged that the VP has played only a minor role in Administration decision-making.

Ike emphasized that Nixon has been "invaluable" to him and that the VP has participated in hundreds of important deliberative proceedings of the Cabinet, National Security Council and other agencies. And, finally, the President said, "I want to make this unequivocable statement. As a person ready to enter the duties of the Presidential office, Dick Nixon has the broadest and deepest preparation and experience of any man I know." By this kind of endorsement, Ike has immensely encouraged party spirits and given the organization a morale booster it badly needed.

However, those in the GOP leadership who believe that Ike's role in behalf of the ticket may prove crucial now discuss whether he should not go further in this direction. Observers note how fearful the Democratic top candidates are of Ike's influence on the mass of voters.

It is now suggested that Ike should attack and criticize the Democratic ticket in the same terms as Nixon has used against Kennedy. The latter, indeed, has drastically criticized the record of Ike's Administration, particularly the progress in armament. These words from candidate Kennedy deserve—it is suggested—a rejoinder in kind.

It is realized, of course, that the President has up until recently tried to disassociate himself from such campaign forensics. But, he went so far in his

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recent statement endorsing Nixon that, it is felt, he might well be willing to go farther, to ensure the election of the man he wants as a successor.

Goldwater: The Arizona conservative has turned out to be the star performer for the GOP, outshining Nixon, Rockefeller, Lodge and even Ike. A rash of articles in such journals as the Washington *Evening Star* and *Wall Street Journal* portray him as the greatest draw in the campaign. Racing at a mad pace by plane all over the country, the Senator covers the whole landscape, with tremendous effect.

"The not-so-conservative Nixon-Lodge ticket is getting an enormous boost from the crusading conservatism of Barry Goldwater," reports the *Wall Street Journal.* "He is one of the busiest and most sought after of the Republican orators," reports the *Star.*

"I get 10 times more requests for speeches by him than he has time for," moans Lee Potter of the GOP National Committee. "I can set up a meeting anywhere by just mentioning his name."

Goldwater does not slur over his differences with some parts of the GOP platform or with Nixon. He says: "I differ with the Republican platform in some respects. But I differ with the Democratic platform in all respects." Everywhere he says there's no choice for conservatives: one party is for the Constitution and free enterprise; the other for Federal Government action to solve any problem. "Let's elect Nixon," urges the Arizonan "then after November 8 we can begin working for a more conservative Republican party." To conservative businessmen he's rough—telling them to quit sitting back and doing nothing and then later complaining to him and other Senators. "If we don't win this election," he adds, "just don't come crying to me."

Cuba: HUMAN EVENTS reported September 15 that the Communists would "project a phony invasion of Cuba" during the current UN session. We were informed that anti-Castroites in Florida were being duped by Red agents into invading the island (with American arms) and would then be betrayed, killed or captured, affording the Reds a propaganda coup as "an American effort to overthrow the revolution."

Last week some 25 anti-Castroites, carrying an American flag, were dispersed on a Cuban beachhead by the Fidelistas in what the State Department indicated (three weeks after our report) was a put up job.

Johnson: "LBJ ain't makin' hay" is a current quip concerning Lyndon Johnson, who was nominated to round out the Democratic ticket at Los Angeles, in what was then considered one of the shrewdest political maneuvers in years—but which has since proven the most dismal flop in recent Presidential campaign history.

The Counterfeit Confederate, who apparently has failed to pull the wool over the eyes of Southern voters with his bogus conservatism, has been relegated to a minor role in the campaign and it becomes increasingly hard to come by Johnson copy in the press. But one story concerning LBJ (which the Democrats are happy didn't receive wide notice) was an interview which Kennedy braintruster Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., gave the New York *Herald Tribune* News Service.

Schlesinger told the *"Trib"*: "Johnson has dropped out of the campaign, but it doesn't really matter." The story said that Schlesinger, one of Kennedy's foremost advisers, noted that the Senate majority leader has little voice in the campaign and that "no one hears from him any more, but it really doesn't matter."

France—Friend of the US: It did not escape the notice of Diplomatic Row in Washington that France went out of its way to back up President Eisenhower's rejection of suggestions he meet with Khrushchev. In a communique which was obviously written by President De Gaulle, France stated that little could be achieved in another summit at the present time, and particularly amid the "passions" aroused by Khrushchev's behavior in New York.

De Gaulle's refusal to attend the Manhattan jamboree has been firm from the beginning. He is the only head of state of a major UN-member nation who has not seen fit to attend the fantastic meeting. Last week, French Premier Michel Debre undoubtedly voiced the attitude of "le grand Charles" when he called the UN session an "astonishing concert of bad faith and hypocrisy." It is known that De Gaulle sought to discourage Prime Minister Macmillan from going to New York.

De Gaulle's firm handling of Khrushchev is cited by some who attended the Paris conference last summer. It is related that De Gaulle, in his private talk with the Soviet master in Paris, stepped on a typical Khrushchev type of blackmail in typical De Gaullist fashion. The Soviet leader told De Gaulle he was thinking of recognizing the Algerian rebels. The French President calmly replied that, if Khrushchev did so, France would break diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and bring back its whole Embassy staff to Paris. Khrushchev never raised the matter again.

In addition to backing Ike in his refusal to huddle with Khrushchev, the French Government has—with no publicity at all—shown its desire to soften the impact of the "gold crisis" on the American economic system. *Several weeks ago De Gaulle gave orders to French banks not to demand gold for French investments in the US.* This was a friendly move, although not without the realization that it was to France's advantage. For, if a severe economic downturn took place in the US, France and all Western Europe would suffer.

De Gaulle's notice to the French banks was sent after word had reached Paris that the US Treasury, in its exploration of ways to deal with the "outflow of gold," had looked into a proposal to limit to small amounts American money spent on travel abroad—

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which, presently, comes to an overall $2 billion a year. Such a step would hurt the thriving tourist business in France and elsewhere. It is being watched to see if other European countries, similarly interested, will follow the French example.

UN Session: Veteran United Nations observers report that leaders of the Communist and "neutral" nations are currently using the international organization as a vast propaganda sounding board, apparently to solidify their positions at home.

Russia, Cuba, the Red satellite nations and most of the so-called "neutralist" nations of Africa and Southeast Asia are now centers of turmoil, to some degree, and the bellicose grandstand stunts of Khrushchev and other "heavies" in the UN's diplomatic "murderers' row" are seen as largely geared to divert criticism and rebellion on the home front.

Capitol Camera: The strike involving many General Electric plants is being watched with great interest on Capitol Hill. For G.E. is the only big company which has resolutely kept its plants open to workers despite strike orders. (In general, steel companies shut down when the USW struck their plants last year.) G.E., in contrast, is a firm and able employer, and its success in getting an early and favorable settlement may inspire other employers to follow its example.

• *Dr. John Firestone, an economist at New York's City College, has recently put the lie to Estes Kefauver's charge that drug companies are milking the public by charging exorbitant prices. His Index of Wholesale Prices for Ethical Prescription Pharmaceuticals shows that while general wholesale prices increased 20 per cent in the last decade, wholesale drug prices decreased seven per cent.*

• Anent Kennedy's panacea for the farm problem —former Democratic Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace, often called the "Mad Milkman from Iowa," has just said the Kennedy farm plan might require "stricter controls than they have in most Communist countries."

• *Democrat charges that the US is a second-class power were disputed in a recent report by top-ranking scientists. The report was drafted by NATO's Committee of Scientists. It declares that the West has a huge edge over the USSR in science and technology. "The fact remains that in the post war years practically all new basic discoveries in science have come from the West."*

• Kennedy last week blamed the GOP Administration for allowing Cuba to become Communist. But in his book *Strategy of Peace*, published this year, Kennedy blames the Administration for "backing" Batista in his resistance to the Communist Castro and for failing to give Castro "a warmer welcome in his hour of triumph" (page 133).

• The Nashville *Banner* on Kennedy's latest play: "Kennedy dropped into New York to pick up the formal endorsement as Liberal Party candidate. In addition, he has added another feather to his hat by gaining the endorsement of the Democratic Socialist Federation . . . . When a candidate accepts the nomination of a party—even a splinter group—it is assumed that he also embraces that element's political dogma."

Dixie-GOP Coalition: *Congressional Quarterly* has published figures in its weekly report showing that in the last session of the 86th Congress the Dixie-GOP coalition teamed up enough times to save the American taxpayer from Northern "liberal" Democratic plans to bust the budget and run the nation deep into the red.

Although the 1958 elections noticeably diminished the ranks of conservatives in the Congress, the coalition, voting together on 22 per cent of the roll calls, was able to win 58 per cent of the time.

The major victories chalked up by the coalition in the Senate—which won 67 per cent of the time—were the defeat of Federal aid for teachers' salaries; the upholding of the President's veto on the depressed areas bill; and the defeat of the medical bill for the aged financed through social security.

The House alliance, which won only 35 per cent of its roll calls, was able to cut down the original minimum wage proposal and defeat special grants for urban renewal projects.

GOP Senators who most consistently upheld the coalition were Hickenlooper (Iowa) and minority leader Dirksen (Ill.). Southern Senators who stood by the alliance most often were Byrd (Va.), Robertson (Va.) and Stennis (Miss.).

The Senator who opposed the conservative coalition more often than any other Senator was—not Wayne Morse—but Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.), who worked against it 96 per cent of the time.

Registration Drive: Following alarming reports of the effectiveness of the Democrats' (especially COPE's) voter registration drives, the GOP has geared itself for its greatest get-out-the-vote effort.

The Republicans will concentrate on getting out a heavy vote in more than 500 counties across the country which Ike carried by 2-1 or better in 1956. Many of these counties include the suburban areas of middle and upper-middle-class people who tend to vote Republican. In a special effort to reach this source, the GOP has launched "Operation Commuter Vote." Volunteers will board commuter trains and urge registration while dispensing buttons and literature. Suburban housewives will set up headquarters at train stations to stimulate the drive.

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, Member of Congress from Mississippi: "The penetrating analysis of National affairs and trends made weekly by HUMAN EVENTS provides me with information not available in the daily press or periodicals. It proves most beneficial to me as a legislator."

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Suburbanites have also been formed into phone committees to call friends and neighbors and urge them to register. In a Syracuse, New York, suburb, GOP phone volunteers recently contacted an average of 100 unregistered Republicans an hour during their first three hours of calling.

"Operation Commuter" coordinator Jack Stiles explains: "We don't have the mass organized groups the Democrats have to get out the vote. We must rely on individual people, and people must get out and work in this campaign if we're going to win."

Poppa Kennedy: A letter from the old Nazi diplomatic archives is being used to smear former Ambassador (to Britain) Joseph Kennedy, father of the Democratic candidate, as "anti-Semitic." The letter is from German Ambassador (to Britain) von Dirksen to the Foreign Office in Berlin. The Nazi diplomat said Kennedy expressed to him sympathy for Germany and said the overwhelming majority of Americans wanted friendship with Germany. He wrote:

"The Ambassador [Kennedy] touched upon the Jewish question and stated that it was of great importance to German-American relations. In this connection, it was not so much the fact that we wanted to get rid of the Jews that was so harmful to us, but rather the loud clamor with which we accomplished this purpose. He himself understood our Jewish policy completely; he was from Boston and there, in one golf club, no Jews had been admitted for the past fifty years."

Two members of HUMAN EVENTS staff were in Britain in those years and do not believe that the von Dirksen letter is an accurate description of the elder Kennedy or has any importance. It is not believed that Ambassador Kennedy was anti-Semitic or voiced any such sentiments as in the letter. He did seek friendly relations with the German diplomats; but that was US policy, laid down by Roosevelt, at the time. US Ambassador Hugh Wilson in Berlin had similar orders and carried them out.

Naturally, von Dirksen sought to touch up the picture of Kennedy's diplomatic manner—that was typical of such German officials in their official reports for obvious reasons. But Kennedy, on the whole, did a faithful job of carrying out orders from Washington.

Actually, according to the memory of HUMAN EVENTS staffers, Kennedy got in bad principally because he got along too well with Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain who was at odds (and lost) in a contest of power with Winston Churchill in 1940. Kennedy is said to have sympathized with the school of thought in the British Foreign Office which sought to avoid involving free Western Europe in a war with Nazi Germany and to turn the dynamism of Hitler's regime eastward against Communist Russia. Many Americans, including Herbert Hoover and General A. C. Wedemeyer, took a similar view. Time has confirmed the correctness of their view.

MacArthur: General Douglas MacArthur on Founders Day (September 28) at the new University of Dallas gave an address in which he dealt satirically with some of the Democratic Presidential nominee's favorite slogans: "I cite for example such phrases as 'the rate of our national growth,' 'the direction of our national purpose,' or 'the promise of our new horizons.' Such slogans are but political jargon little understood by even the most informed of our people, and with issues so obscure as to have little in common with reality. They are 'catchcalls' designed to impress the votes of a bewildered and trusting populace. Their authors know or should know that the 'rate of our national growth' is dependent more than all else on the degree of freedom left for the uninhibited play of our individual initiative and creative energies; they know or should know that 'our national purpose' is simple and supportable by every American—the steady increase in our standard of life and adequate defense of that standard against all pressures at home or abroad; they know or they should know that the only 'new horizons' to which we should as a nation now aspire are not to our left or right but up—not horizontal but vertical—those which measure the well-being and happiness of all the people.

"And how, it might rightly be asked, would a statesman approach the problem, a solution of which directly concerns our 'rate of national growth,' the direction of our 'national purpose' and the 'new horizons' of our life?

"He would seek the answer in the basic and immutable principles of the science of government, not in the temporary expediences of popularity and adulation under the guise of the art of government. He would see a violation of the fundamental laws of freedom in our insatiably expanding federal bureaucracy with its growing controls over our daily lives. He would see that if we reduced the monetary cost of the federal government, thus curtailing its bureaucratic power, we would, first: advance our economic growth and consequent standard of living, by lowering the extreme burden of taxation which threatens to reduce us all to a form of involuntary servitude, thereby releasing for constructive purposes our presently suppressed initiative and creative energies; second: ensure a sharp curtailment of the growing paternalism inherent in massive central government, thereby permitting us once again the freedom to determine the direction of our own lives and to remarshal our resources fully to exploit our opportunities; and third: provide us the chance to pass down to our progeny a solvent rather than a bankrupt nation."

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Key Election Issue:

Federal Aid to Education

By EDNA LONIGAN

IN THE LAST SESSION, Congress rejected two major programs for Federal "aid" to education—the Democratic proposal for general subsidies and the Republican compromise which was limited—at the start—to subsidies for school construction only.

Now the struggle has moved to the Congressional districts. The "educationists" want a more docile Congress. They will fight to re-elect the Members who voted with the education lobby, and to defeat those who dared to vote against their wishes.

They know the next session of Congress may decide the issue for all time. They know that once a bill for Federal assistance passes Congress, it is never rescinded but rather grows and grows like a banyan tree.

One curious aspect of the voting on education aid in Congress is that Members of Congress from the states which would have received the largest grants above their share of taxes were against the bills. The states which would have paid the largest amounts in taxes were most aggressive in support of the bills. Why?

The United States Chamber of Commerce has prepared a table, from United States Office of Education figures, listing the costs and benefits to each state of Federal funds for education. In 10 states the margin of Federal payments over taxes would exceed $2 million a year apiece. They are Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and Tennessee. In these states 87 out of their 88 Representatives in Congress voted against the Federal funds for schools.

On the other hand, 17 states would have paid most of the bill for new Federal expenditures for schools, but 15 out of 17 of them voted for Federal aid. Only Ohio and Florida voted to hold down new expenditures.

One key to this curious lineup of votes is what might be called the "legislative interlock." Bills for Federal welfare spending in the states grant multiple powers. Some of these powers can be discovered by reading the bill at hand. Some can be discovered only by reading the fine print in quite separate bills in many diverse fields.

Legislative proposals for area redevelopment, community facilities, sewage control, juvenile delinquency, and revival of the Civilian Conservation Corps, all have these interlocking provisions. For example, area redevelopment bills amended the urban renewal acts, so that housing appropriations could be used for industrial construction as well as residential. Also, the dangerous provision for "back door financing," by which some Federal agencies print bonds and "sell" them to the Treasury, was ostensibly taken out of the bill, but it was, in fact, left in, because the Area Redevelopment Agency could use funds from urban renewal appropriations, which can still be raised by "back door" borrowing.

Earlier drafts of the area redevelopment bills openly permitted the Federal Government to move workers from their own communities to other cities or states for "retraining." But this would permit the Federal Government—as some of the earlier witnesses frankly admitted—to move Negroes from the South to other states. The idea was that whites and Negroes ought to be relocated until every community had a "fair share" of Negroes. This is like the ruling of the New York City Board of Education which compelled white children to go to schools distant from their homes so every school and classroom could have a "proper" mixture of Negro and white children.

FEDERAL FUNDS for school construction make it possible for the executive branch to rule that no money be paid to states unless their schools are forcibly integrated, according to the planners' new doctrines of "Constitutionality," and law enforcement with the use of Federal troops.

It is true that Representative Adam Clayton Powell tried to put such a provision into the legislative draft and was opposed by its supporters on the ground that it would kill the bill.

Does that mean that the planners in the executive branch do not intend to use school subsidies to enforce segregation or keep any other promise, to get mass votes? Not at all. It is simpler to impose reforms by executive ruling than by legislative consensus, and there is virtually no appeal from directives of the executive branch. Why put it in the law?

The states which stood up against the trend to Federal aid for schools were those in which the mass pressure groups, like CIO-PAC and NEA—are not strong. The states which voted—against their own self-interest—to subsidize the taxpayers of 33 other states, are those in which the mass pressure groups, which lead the fight for centralization, are strongest.

Now the appeal has been transferred from the old Congress to the new one. Every effort will be made to defeat the "reactionaries." We shall hear more of the little tots who have no seats in the classroom. The truth is that state and local boards of education have built new classrooms for ten million students and replaced obsolete classrooms seating another four million. The war-stimulated increase in population passed its peak in 1955, and the picture is getting constantly brighter, because local school construction remains high.

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The real issue is this—Federal funds mean Federal control. The centralizers intend to control American education and American children. City fathers and boards of education are to be tempted by "aid" for school construction. Teachers will hear the siren promise of higher salaries. Administrators will be promised more funds for administration and services. Of course nothing is said about the tax bite which will be necessary to pay for all this—when the bills are rendered.

The NEA and their friends will say they do not want Federal control. But no Federal official may pay out Federal money unless he knows the money will be used for the purposes stated in the law. With Federal money go the Federal auditor, the Federal advisory committee, the Federal requirement for "approved plans" before a penny is allotted, and the skill of the Federal bureaucrats in conveying to state and local officials how foolish it is to bite the hand that feeds you. People who say Federal "aid" will not mean Federal control are either not very honest or not very bright.

THE "EDUCATIONISTS" have told us frankly what the trouble is. We have in this country some 20,000 local boards of education, under citizen control, the fruit of our deep-rooted belief that government, where necessary, should be as close to the people as possible. But it is difficult business for the educationists in Washington to control 20,000 citizen groups scattered over the whole United States. Such independent bodies can delay, obstruct, or openly oppose plans to make all our schools into one monolithic system managed by control panels, with push-buttons hidden deep in the Federal bureaucracy.

Myron W. Lieberman, in "The Future of Public Education," has frankly explained why 20,000 boards of education are anathema to the planners. School boards cater to parents and taxpayers. You know, of course, if you have been reading educational literature, that the influence of parents and taxpayers over American children and their schooling must be ended.

Once the camel's nose is in the tent, we can predict the rest. Ten to fifteen billion a year, higher teachers' salaries, higher expenses for buildings, services, overhead. The 20,000 school systems will turn to Washington, first for money, then for "standards." The educationists will know how to coordinate them into one monolithic system. They will feel the irresistible pull to identical content, professional standards, buildings, supervision.

How will the protesting parent, the dissenting teacher, or the local parent, express his disagreement? He won't. That is the point. Federal "aid" is Federal politicalization of education, but a politicalization in which only the opinions of the "managers" will be heard. The notion that dissent is a healthy safeguard will pass from memory. The 20,000 local boards of education will probably be kept as exhibits of "democracy," but they will be shorn of their only strength, the power of the purse.

Do we want a monolithic educational system in the United States, even if it is a good one? Do we want a monolithic system following the blueprints of the NEA, the AFL-CIO, and their allies, with left-wing doctrinaire "intellectuals" at the control panels? The fight is the same whether it is waged over relief, social insurance, health, farm aid, or education. Only the simple-minded can believe Federal "aid" to education will be "different."

Behind the curious division in Congress over Federal subsidies for schools, we can see, then, the hardening of the lines between the collectivists who already occupy so many of the positions of power in American life and the Constitutionalists who believe in local self-government, self-help, and the power to dissent from orders from Washington.

The states which voted against Federal school grants, though they would have gained millions of dollars a year, were voting against the forces bringing all our local agencies into the Federal monolith with its simple control panels at the center.

The states which voted for Federal aid, though they would pay for the subsidies for 33 other states, voted to carry us further along the road to the Federal monolith in which education and all the other responsibilities of states and local governments are collectivized.

Each of the separate welfare programs has its own mass pressure groups to urge its cause. But in the contests for Congress, all these groups interlock, in the congressional districts, to elect their friends and to punish their enemies.

The NEA, the CIO-PAC, the ADA, and the rest, will work as one coordinated whole. They will bring all their influence to bear on the ballot box. Will conservatives work as hard to defend Constitutional government and to reward the men who have defended it for them?

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Pope John Speaks On Right To Work

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By Rev. John E. Coogan, S. J.
Professor of Sociology, West Baden College, Indiana

It is one of life's little ironies that on the very day the young Catholic candidate for the Presidency of the United States urged upon the Democratic convention more government control of the lives of its citizens, the aged Pope of Rome was declaring that—for the modern man—governmental intervention was excessively socializing the individual. On the day Senator Kennedy was urging his party to wipe out the Right to Work laws of 19 states, Pope John was declaring for the Right to Work principle and for the abolition of forced union membership.

As the Presidential aspirant yielded to the demands of the politically powerful AFL-CIO for compulsory unionism, the peasant Pope vindicated the right of the lone workman not to join a union. Ironically enough, the proclamation of the Right to Work principle by the head of the Catholic Church was a blow struck in defense of a law characteristic of the most non-Catholic portions of our country.

This new and bold defense of individual freedom for the working man was contained in a letter transmitted for the Pope by his Cardinal Secretary of State to the 47th convention of the Semaine Sociale, Grenoble, July 11-17. Semaine Sociale, representing a very important gathering of key French Catholics, has become an occasion for the promulgation of such very important papal directives as the present. Of late years Semaine Sociale has been concerned about "social changes and freedom of the individual." Pope John's message calls attention to the dangers coming from "ever wider, ever deeper socialization."

So excessive—he thinks—is the socialization becoming that it threatens "dehumanization." This growing menace comes not only from political structures but also from economic—from "the whole network of customs, ways of life, spontaneous or legal insinuations." "Modern man," the Pope says, "sees that the sphere in which he can think for himself, act on his own initiative, exercise his responsibilities, and affirm and enrich his personality is in many cases restricted to an excessive degree." Here John cites a warning from Pius XI, spoken in 1931, against interference by groups and higher levels of government with the individual and with limited government activities: "Just as one cannot take away from individuals and transfer to the community the tasks they are capable of accomplishing by themselves, thus it would also be an injustice—and at the same time a harmful disturbance of the social order—if one were to remove from groups of lower rank functions they can exercise themselves and entrust them to a wider collectivity of higher rank. The natural objectives of any intervention in social matters is to assist the members of the social body and not to destroy or absorb them." In those words we find condemned by both John and Pius the practice of forcing an individual to yield to a collectivity in functions for which he is self-sufficient. And we find condemned the national assumption of a function that can be performed adequately by the individual State or lesser governmental agency.

The danger Pope John sees from excessive socialization is of a "usurped collective domination," a substitution of the mass man for the individual. "The people," he warns us (now in the words of late Pius XII), "live from the fullness of the life of the men who make it up; each of them in his place and in the manner proper to him, is a person conscious of his own responsibilities and of his own convictions. The mass, on the other hand, awaits an impulsion from without, an easy plaything in the hands of anyone who exploits its instincts and impressions, quick to follow now this flag, now that one." Further loss of individuality and development of the mass mentality the Pope sees as often caused "by the fact that the individual abandons through inertia part of his essential prerogative, that of judging freely after having informed himself without bias; and this abdication of oneself is at the same time an error against society and one of the greatest dangers of our time."

A safeguard against excessive socialization the Pope tells us can be had through the use of such "intermediate bodies" (intermediate between the individual and the state) as trade unions—"forms of free and spontaneous associations, well ordered and oriented." But that these "intermediate bodies" may contribute to human freedom each must remain "within its own sphere and responsibility," each must be "offered to, not imposed upon the free choice of mankind." That is a statement of the Right to Work principle—that trade union membership be "offered to, not imposed upon the free choice of mankind." Compulsory unionism contributes to the faceless, mass man who "awaits an impulsion from without, an easy play thing in the hands of anyone who exploits (his) instincts and impressions, quick to follow now this flag, now that one."

Pope John urges that the members of Semaine

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Sociale "meditate as Christians upon the multiple aspects of the phenomenon of socialization. Let them gauge before God the value of these institutions that are offered to them, of these pressures that they accept and suffer." These institutions—including trade unions—"make living easier, for they reduce individual effort and increase the well-being of the collectivity, but for a Christian, the humanism which they bring cannot suffice . . . ." The individual "will find true freedom in proportion as he becomes cognizant of the sublime dignity with which he has been endowed, as man and as Christian." If, then, the individual is to make use of these institutions, let it be "the result of a free and justified choice of careful thought about himself, his destiny and that of the world."

This letter of Pope John has been received by Catholic "liberals" with such a silence that "their silence is a shout." Those of them who have given it any attention have done so over the shoulder and moving away. Their thought of Pope John seems likely to be that expressed in these tantalizing verses:

"Yesterday upon the stair
I met a man who wasn't there.
He wasn't there again today,
Oh, how I wish he'd go away!"

The few "liberals" that have given the letter any explanation have passed over unspoken its clear-cut disapproval of compulsory unionism. One noted "liberal" commentator has implied that the Pope had reference only to conditions in France. But the conditions complained of are rather those of "modern man," in all of our highly developed civilization. Moreover, that John's condemnation of compulsory unionism was not to be confined to France we see from the universality of the reasons for which he condemns it. Furthermore, there is little or no compulsory unionism in France.

Compulsory unionism is almost uniquely at home in the United States—and in Russia. Hence for those Americans who see in Rome their ultimate authority in matters of social morality, the letter of Pope John is determining. All talk about the Right to Work meaning rather the Right to Wreck, all pleading that the rights of worker minorities are conditioned upon the rights of majorities, all claims of the rights of unionists to refuse to permit non-union men to work on the same job—all that is ended. The individual has the right of self-determination, to join or not to join a union; or having joined, to reconsider and withdraw.

This papal disapproval of compulsory unionism did not come without warning. One among many indications of what was to come was contained in the Christmas Message of Pius XII in 1952. There he complained that "access to employment or to places of labor is made to depend upon registration in certain parties or in certain organizations which trace their origin to the labor market. Such discriminations are indicative of a wrong concept of the proper function of labor unions and of their essential purpose, which is the protection of the interests of the wage earner within modern society, which has become more and more anonymous and collectivist."

Catholic "liberals" interpreted that warning as referring to conditions behind the Iron Curtain, despite its insistence that it had in mind also the "free world." Now, however, the papal mind is perfectly clear and challenges misinterpretation. Compulsory unionism is an intolerable imposition upon human dignity. Union membership can be a tremendous benefit to the workingman, but his is the right of thoughtful and prayerful determination as to whether it constitutes the greater good.

It would be unfair to American Catholics to leave the impression that they have been almost of one mind in accepting compulsory unionism. A number of "liberal" Catholic editors have been so exasperated by the conservatism of their readers that they have complained, "Why is it that so many Catholics—for the most part workers or middle-class people whose grand parents were practically enslaved by the robber barons of the last century—show such a tendency to favor capital in any dispute with labor?" The answer to that is rather easy: things have changed a lot since grandfather's day!

For one thing, the exploiters of that remote era have all long since gone to their Judgment. Moreover, the sons and grandsons of the exploited grandfathers are today in many instances themselves harried employers, faced with the task of meeting payrolls while paying heavy taxes and trying to put aside money enough to stay in business. Furthermore, in this matter of compulsory unionism, the issue is frequently not between the employer and the union. It is between the union and the lone workman, prevented by threats of violence from earning a living unless he pays tribute to a union. Non-Catholics may have gotten the impression from a few episcopal declarations that compulsory unionism represented a monolithic attitude. But more than 200 of the 220 Catholic Bishops in the country have refused to put themselves on record for compulsory unionism, even though they themselves are often under considerable pressure to do so.

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY

To pressure groups, the Presidential campaign is a savage contest to see who is to get what from the next administration.

—W. S. WHITE

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Pravda Lambasts Soviet Technology

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

The Soviet Union is running into major obstacles in its drive to overtake the United States in industrial production.

Even the Soviet press, which rarely criticizes the government, has openly decried the state's economic progress. A recent issue of Pravda lambasted Soviet technology for producing "inferior products."

The Pravda article bluntly said that "party and economic workers" are refusing to follow Nikita Khrushchev's directives for industrial excellence. The official newspaper now acknowledges letters to the editor, which term "all industrial articles to be poorly produced, unreliable, badly designed and unworthy of the seven-year plan."

Consumer goods such as sewing machines, shoes, textiles, cameras, radio and television sets are described as "poor, slipshod, inferior." Even these products are in "unjustifiably short supply."

The massive Soviet drive for adequate housing is flopping, according to the Red press and radio.

Said Radio Moscow in a national report to the nation:

"The joy of new tenants (moving into new apartments) is dampened by poor quality building and many defects. In Sverdlovsk, for instance, they have set up a special brigade to remove defects in completed houses. On some building sites, and at enterprises manufacturing reinforced concrete panels, disorganization flourishes. The result of this is new buildings of poor quality."

Intelligence reports on the Red housing program are even more damning. Soviet building practices are at least three decades behind those of the United States. Ninety per cent of all building is done with cheap, low-grade concrete, and structures built only five years ago—such as the US Embassy—are in sad shape.

Outside the three major cities, where slum conditions are worse than in almost any civilized nation, Red housing is equivalent to that of pre-Civil War United States. Log houses are prevalent throughout the nation, even in Moscow and Leningrad.

Soviet conditions are so overcrowded that several families share a bathroom and kitchen. Official figures show that from two to five persons live in the average room. And this, declare experts on Soviet housing, is true also of new buildings.

'THEY DON'T SEEM TO WANT ME AROUN', EITHER!'

Top-ranking Commissars live in decent quarters, although these, too, are shabby by Western standards. The average Russian can lose his apartment if he quits his job.

The Soviet radio makes note of the fact that people are encouraged to build their own homes, and that the government will extend credit for that purpose. This is true only for the outlying areas, but even there, the citizen can borrow no more than $1,000, and only for material. This is good for no more than a log or adobe brick dwelling, and the construction is the purchaser's responsibility.

The Soviets boast that rents are only ten per cent of their worker's wages, while the average US wage earner spends 20 to 25 per cent of his income for housing.

For his money, however, an American gets a three or four-room apartment, with electricity, indoor plumbing, central heating, and hot and cold running water.

The Russian consumer rarely gets any of this, while his income, as calculated in purchasing power, is extremely low. Department of Labor statistics indicate, in fact, that Ivan was making more in 1928 than he is today, two decades after the five-year plans became the vogue.

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Lincoln Quotes

From the Marin Tax News

Abraham Lincoln said:

1. You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift.

2. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.

3. You cannot help the small men by tearing down big men.

4. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich.

5. You cannot lift the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer.

6. You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than your income.

7. You cannot further the brotherhood of men by inciting class hatred.

8. You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money.

9. You cannot build character and courage by taking away a man's initiative and independence.

10. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves.

Our income tax and big government are Siamese Twins. One grabs your money, the other throws it away.

Kennedy Outfumbles Nixon In Proposing Farm Remedy

From the Chicago Tribune

It is clear now that neither candidate in this campaign is going to come up with a revised farm program which is workable. The montage of hopes and pretty pictures which Mr. Kennedy painted in South Dakota recently is more disappointing than Mr. Nixon's.

Mr. Kennedy's program would cost far more in money and in economic disorder than either Mr. Nixon's or the existing arrangement. At present, there is at least a discernible limit, vast as it may be, to the amount of surplus grain that a farmer can sell to the government or the amount of land that he can be paid for retiring. What Mr. Kennedy proposes is to coax the farmer to produce less by promising him "full parity of income," a vague term invented by the left-wing National Farmers union.

As defined by the union and Mr. Kennedy, full parity of income means for the farmers "a return on their invested capital, labor, and management equal to that which similar or comparable resources earn in nonfarm employment." How will it be determined? Mr. Kennedy said merely that "it can be mathematically ascertained and computed." We wonder how. Does Mr. Kennedy suppose that a given investment of money, time and skill earns about the same return in all industries? If not, which occupations are "similar" and "comparable?"

If the government is to determine how much more a man is entitled to earn and if the farmer is to be guaranteed a higher income for producing less, the difference will have to be met by higher food costs or higher taxes or both. How can we believe Mr. Kennedy's professed concern for the "taxpayer's burden?"

Nor is confidence inspired by Mr. Kennedy's reference to the farmer as "the only man in our economy who has to buy everything he buys at retail, sell everything he sells at wholesale, and pay the freight both ways."

Actually farmers buy a good many supplies through cooperatives and other agencies at prices which, whether they are called wholesale or not, are well below usual retail prices. As for nonfarmers, the only commodity which most of them sell is labor. There are more union members than there are farmers, and the price of union labor is determined through negotiations sometimes covering hundreds of thousands of workers at a time. If this isn't wholesale, what is?

Mr. Kennedy promises special programs to help farmers with gross incomes under $2,500, although he ought to know that in spite of their numbers, they contribute little to the surplus. Many of them already have outside jobs and others have already sold out and moved away. Such a program would go on indefinitely, would have little bearing on the problem at hand, and would accomplish little that is not already being accomplished by normal processes.

It is easy to offer programs such as these, knowing that if they are tried and fail there will always be somebody else to blame. It was a smart farmer who, having heard Mr. Kennedy through, said, "I'll vote for that young fellow if he can show me that his plan will work."

Labor: Too Big For Its Breeches?

From the Wall Street Journal

No one, we suppose, is surprised that President George Meany of the AFL-CIO thinks labor has "got to get into this campaign with both feet and in favor of one ticket." But we were a little surprised at some of the reasons he gave publicly recently why union voters should jump on Mr. Nixon with both feet.

Naturally, his reasons include the general one that the "Democratic platform is vastly superior on the issue of labor policy" than the Republican Party's. But who would have thought that at this late date labor voters would be impressed by attacks on the "harsh burdens" and "iniquities" of the Taft-Hartley Act, or be aroused by the Democrats' promise to repeal it?

And we would have expected Mr. Meany to be a little more subtle than just to tell union members that one reason for voting Democratic is that "on direct labor issues Kennedy's record has been 100% right," leaving the impression that anything less than 100% agreement on labor issues makes a Presidential candidate "wrong."

But what really interests us is the fact that, in his recent St. Louis speech, Mr. Meany makes no bones of the fact that the AFL-CIO's general board lays down criteria for Presidents on almost every public issue. It's not just Mr. Nixon's record on labor questions that brings down labor wrath.

Among the brickbats Mr. Meany heaves at the Republican candidate are "his blind faith" in private enterprise, that in foreign affairs "he has gone right down the line with the present Administration," and that "on almost every social and economic issue" he has voted on the side the AFL-CIO disagrees with.

However, says Mr. Meany, with a "sympathetic President in the White House" the programs for the country envisioned by labor's leaders on housing, education, health, agriculture, defense, foreign policy, labor policy and what-all will have a better chance. "I am completely confident," he assures everybody, "that John F. Kennedy, when he is elected President, will help us win them."

It's quite a frank statement, and maybe it will give a lot of people some reasons for voting.

Reuther Reverses on L. B. J.

United Auto Workers President Walter P. Reuther, who all but had kittens when the Democrats nominated Lyndon B. Johnson for Vice President, now says Johnson is a very fine fellow.

Would the gentleman from Texas kindly let us all know, specifically, just what he did to change Reuther's mind? —NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

Guess Who Said This!

For anyone still waiting for authoritative word on the radical leftism of this year's Democratic platform, it has now arrived. Quote—"Our Democratic friends are too Utopian. They promise too much to everyone too easily."

Who says so? None other than Norman Thomas, dean of American Socialists! —INDIANAPOLIS NEWS

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Dubinsky: Back Jack or Else...

From the New York Daily News

David Dubinsky, chief of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, announces a series of five coast-to-coast radio programs on Presidential campaign issues.

Considering that Dubinsky is one of the owners of the Liberal Party, and that the Liberal party has endorsed Senator John F. Kennedy (D.-Mass.) for President, you can have one guess as to the tone and slant of these programs.

The cost of the shows is estimated at $25,000 all told. Where's the money coming from? Why, says Dave, the programs "are being financed by the voluntary contributions of garment workers throughout the country to the ILGWU 1960 Campaign Committee Fund."

Mr. Dubinsky's definition of the word "voluntary" would be most interesting, if he would release it to the public.

Actually, these "voluntary" contributions come from ILGWU rank-and-file members who are encouraged to kick in by the knowledge that the union will deprive them of their vacation pay (which the union, not the employers, controls) if they refuse to contribute to Dubinsky's campaign committee.

Dave has been getting away with this stuff for years. Since he seems to be shot with luck, he presumably will get away with it for a while longer.

But we can't help imagining the uproar which Dave and his fellow labor leaders would kick up if, say, the National Association of Manufacturers were to wring similar "voluntary" contributions from its members and present a series of bought-and-paid-for campaign radio shows, with love, to Republican Presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon.

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Will Adlai Oppose Dirksen?

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

Senator A. S. "Mike" Monroney of Oklahoma, Adlai Stevenson's Los Angeles campaign manager, indicates that Adlai might try to unseat GOP Senate Leader Everett Dirksen two years from now.

Stevenson will not comment on reports that he is considering the race. But Monroney and other Stevensonians in the capital term it a "wonderful idea."

So does Dirksen.

How Nixon Can Win

By Holmes Alexander

"(The) system which the economists call interventionalism does not combine, as its champions claim, some of the features of Capitalism with some of the Socialism . . . Marx and Engels . . . consider these interventionalist measures . . . as first steps toward the establishment of full Communism."

—LUDWIG VON MISES

The next time Vice President Nixon debates with Senator Kennedy somebody should advise him to think deeply on the passage above. It expresses, I think, the one big reason why the country should reject John Kennedy in November. At the same time, Dr. Von Mises' passage expresses the one big reason why so many Republicans, Independents and Conservatives have not fully accepted Richard Nixon.

This seeming paradox is easily explained. Economic intervention by the Federal Government has become our national habit. In the first TV debate, Kennedy sketched the self-portrait of an all-out Federal interventionalist—but Nixon, in the same debate, sketched himself as a semi-interventionalist.

It is a partial stalemate, but there is a solution for Nixon. As an all-out interventionalist, Kennedy is stuck with this anti-Capitalist proposition. But as a semi-interventionalist—as one who thinks intervention is wrong and only excusable as an emergency—Nixon is much more flexible. He can—he should—attack Kennedy as an anti-Capitalist.

But in order to do so, Nixon must first throw away a good deal of rubbish which seems to be bothering him. He should consign to the trash basket all those tut-tut clippings by Eleanor Roosevelt, all those cartoons by Herblock and Mauldin, all the magazine pieces and books which, beginning with his election to Congress in 1946, have tried to show the Vice President as a mud-slinger and character assassin—whenever he has raised his voice or his fist at the image of Communism in America.

The Vice President is today being defeated by these old enemies of his—the ultra-Liberals. His fear of them has done what Delilah did to Sampson. His respect for their good opinion has caused him to trade in his brass knuckles for 10-ounce boxing gloves. His attempt to abandon the so-called Low Road has drawn him into a cul-de-sac. His try-out for the role of Little Gentleman is an atrocious bit of miscasting. By dieting off his normal jowls, by disguising his black stubble with make-up, by cultivating humility and practicing forebearance, Nixon has turned himself into a character who is almost unrecognizable to his admirers and is apparently incredible to the viewers and listeners of these electronic debates.

Down with the New Nixon! Let's have the Old Nixon! There is no other way in which the Republican candidate can make the points as strongly as they need to be made. On September 26th, Nixon explained that the gross national product is about $500 billion, of which the Federal Government supplies around one-fourth and private enterprise three-fourths. This is good, but not nearly good enough.

Nixon must point out that the Kennedy proposals would alter these ratios of Federal intervention in the direction of total intervention. He must show the speed with which a $13-$18 billion increase in Federal spending (as proposed by the Democratic platform) would hasten total Federal intervention. And, above all, Nixon must use the dreaded adjective "Communistic" (not "socialistic" or any such euphemism) to describe and to damn the end-result of such a program.

Of course, Nixon would do this with better grace if his own GOP platform did not demand an increase of $2-$4 billion in Federal intervention. To the New Nixon this would be an insurmountable obstacle. But to the Old Nixon it would be a challenge.

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Urban Renewal Must Begin at Home

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Amid the myriad of US departments and agencies, the General Accounting Office is in some respects unique. Its mission, to begin with, is exceedingly important: among other things, GAO "is directly responsible to the Congress for conducting independent reviews, audits and investigations of the management and control of the financial transactions of the Government." Despite the vast area which it must police, moreover, this federal watchdog costs the taxpayer remarkably little—a budgeted $41.1 million for the twelve months ending June 30, 1961, slightly less than outlays in the previous fiscal year. By some calculations, indeed, the organization even might be said to turn a profit. Specifically, its various activities last year yielded the Treasury more than $60 million in collections and refunds.

A Speculative Bonanza

GAO's greatest contribution to good government, however, has been less financial than philosophical: by nature and design it is a seeker after truth. In the process it has succeeded time and again in shedding remarkable light on some of the darker corners of bureaucracy. Now the General Accounting Office has produced a report entitled "Review of Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal Activities of the San Francisco Regional Office, Housing and Home Finance Agency." While it will never make the best-seller lists, this volume is a fascinating piece of work. For it constitutes perhaps the first fully documented account of what is wrong with a federal program which both parties thoughtlessly have embraced. Instead of furthering the general welfare, urban renewal has become a speculative bonanza for a favored few. Indeed, the evidence suggests that far from halting the spread of blight, existing legislation actually has tended to encourage it. In this area, as in so many others, government subsidy has worked against sound policy.

Heavier Spending Sought

This conclusion has begun to emerge only after more than ten years of costly, frustrating experience. Washington has been involved in the prevention and elimination of blight ever since passage of the Housing Act of 1949. Under its terms, as amended, the Urban Renewal Administration helps municipalities to acquire and raze slum properties, and sell the cleared land at lower prices to private developers. Two-thirds of the markdown is borne by the US, one-third by the city or town. As of a recent date, some $1.4 billion of federal funds had been set aside for such purposes, and new authorizations were running at a yearly rate of $300 million. Moreover, sentiment for heavier spending is on the rise. Thus, according to one Democratic spokesman, "Federal participation has been little more than a token effort . . . what is required now is a federal program big enough and comprehensive enough to produce the results so urgently needed . . ."

Money Isn't Everything

Here is the so-called bold approach so much admired in some circles. However, as Shakespeare reminds us, discretion is the better part of valor; the General Accounting Office, though concerned more with truth than poetry, doubtless would agree. In any case, its report is a smashing indictment of the view that nothing ails urban renewal but the lack of funds. To begin with, the agency learned that in San Francisco (and, it suspects, in many other places), a large number of families displaced by slum clearance merely crowded into other sub-standard shelter. While such moves are contrary to the letter as well as the spirit of the housing laws, local authorities, whether out of necessity or choice, have been lax in enforcing its terms. Clearing slums, it thus would appear, and reducing the number of slum dwellers, are two wholly different things.

Urban Renewal Inflates Values

Still more jolting are the agency's findings on the way in which federal subsidy and lax law enforcement combine to inflate the value of slum property to the profit of its owners. In this connection, GAO cites the case of a three-story wood frame house which was built originally in 1885 and designed for use by no more than two families. The property, which changed hands for $8,800 in 1952, subsequently (and illegally) was converted into sixteen housekeeping rooms and one three-room apartment, capable of yielding a much greater annual return. As a result, when the local slum clearance agency sought to acquire it in 1957, its appraised value had climbed to $21,700 and its owner was demanding $27,500. The dispute is still in court. Even where no hint of illegality exists, there can be a fantastic disparity between the value set on a property when it is taxed and when it is condemned. Last fall, to illustrate, a building owned by a well-known family in New York City, appraised at only $1.1 million for tax purposes, brought $2.4 million in a condemnation award.

Different Approach Needed

In the face of such conditions, all the gold in Fort Knox (even if it weren't already mortgaged) scarcely would make a dent in the nation's slums. Instead, as more and more observers have come to agree, what is needed is a wholly different approach. To prevent the enrichment of slumlords, for example, the General Accounting Office, in fixing property values, would rule out all income earned in defiance of local ordinances. Plainly the time has come to punish violations rather than reward them. Others, notably the magazine *House & Home*, urge a sweeping overhaul of a tax structure which, in effect, stimulates land speculation and encourages the spread of blight. Lacking such reforms, the knowledgeable publication says flatly, urban renewal can get nowhere.

Political Decay

What is needed, above all, is mounting awareness by the public that blight is primarily a local ill, the cure for which lies so to speak, right in its own backyard. This overriding point has been made by Frazar B. Wilde, president of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., in a footnote to a new study by the Committee for Economic Development. Says Mr. Wilde: "The paper does not recognize with sufficient force the failure of cities and towns to prevent and mitigate slum areas by means within their own control. The flagrant disregard of health rules, saftey rules and construction rules by practically all major cities is well known and a grave reflection on our democratic process." Slums, in short, are the consequence of political as well as economic decay. Only by first cleaning house in state capital and city hall can the urban US be truly renewed.

United Nations

The cost of operating the United Nations during 1960 is $283,640,827, of which amount the United States pays $120,405,117 and the Soviet Union $17,454,215. Estimated additional yearly expenses of United Nations operations in the Congo are $200 million, of which the United States will probably contribute $80 million and the Soviet Union nothing. By 1962, the African and Asian nations will have 55 members, and the European-American nations will have 53 members, in the United Nations, which perhaps explains why Khrushchev is playing up to the small countries of Africa and Asia

—CONGRESSMAN CLARENCE J. BROWN

Eleanor and Nixon

Is Nixon winning at least a more tolerant attitude from Democrats by his "New Nixon" posture?

Let the answer come from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt whose column of September 28 described the reactions of a group of people with whom she listened to the first of the great debates:

"We felt honesty in Kennedy and distrustfulness in Nixon . . . . For me the amusing thing about the broadcast was that evidently the Republicans feel they must have the same objectives as the Democrats . . . . I thought if they were going to accomplish the same ends, they were going to have to do it with similar financial processes."

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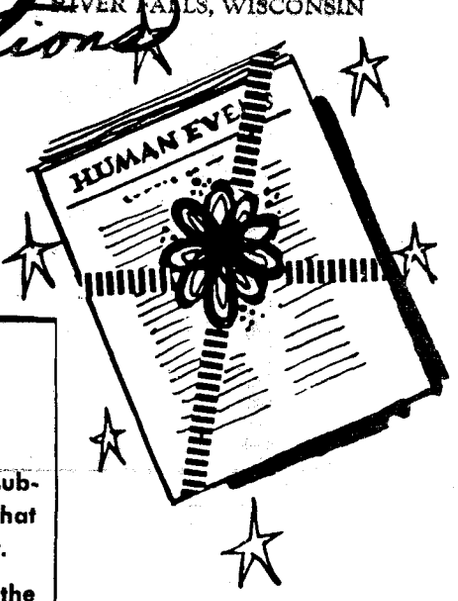

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HUMAN EVENTS

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Kennedy's Profile in Accommodation

By RICHARD WHALEN

IN HIS CAMPAIGN to unseat then-Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in 1952, Jack Kennedy likened his views on foreign policy to those of the late Senator Taft and hinted of his opponent's "softness" toward communism. With the Korean War uppermost in the public mind, Kennedy's "hard line" was politically adroit and successful.

Today, an even more ambitious and pragmatic Jack Kennedy has sniffed the breeze of public opinion and decided upon a different pitch. Now he warns of "the slow erosion of our courage" and declares that there will be no "easy answers" to the perils of the 1960's. It is "a time for greatness," trumpet Kennedy backers, and half-listening citizens may think the youthful World War II Navy hero is again pushing a "hard" policy toward communism.

That is the image Kennedy would like to project, but he has actually drifted far to the Left since 1952. In an expedient accommodation to what he believes is the temper of the times, he has moved squarely into the ultra-Liberal camp of Adlai Stevenson, Chester Bowles and the Ivy League anti-anti-Communists. Whatever his rhetorical line may be, he really has no policy disagreements with the creampuff from Libertyville, Squire Stevenson.

In an anti-Nixon diatribe, the New York *Post's* William V. Shannon recently wrote a description that fits Kennedy like a glove: "His commitment is to nothing larger or more impersonal than his own ambition. He is on fire with no ideal, dedicated to no great cause, champion of no enduring philosophy or consistent viewpoint."

Kennedy's foreign policy views are not straightforward enough to be labelled those of an outright appeaser. But the prophet of the Cool Deal is unquestionably a dispassionate compromiser, who does not seem to grasp the Communist foe's implacable nature.

At an Oregon high school assembly last May, a boy asked Kennedy what he would have done if he had been in President Eisenhower's place at the explosive Paris summit meeting. Kennedy said he thought the US might have met Khrushchev's demand that we "apologize" for the U-2 flight, but he drew the line at trying those responsible for the mission. "If he [Khrushchev] had mere'y asked that the US express regrets and so forth," said Kennedy, "then that would have been a reasonable term."

What seemed "reasonable" to Kennedy struck many Americans as humiliating. Though he tried to back off the quote, Kennedy's tape-recorded counsel of expediency caused more than one voter to doubt the courage of a candidate who would apologize to Khrushchev for maintaining US security.

The so-called "missile gap" is one of Kennedy's favorite shock-subjects. A month after his Oregon boner, he warned in a Senate speech that "the next President of the US will find himself with far-flung commitments without the strength to meet them or to back them up." Was this an honest belief or the gambit of a cynical manipulator of mass opinion? One must wonder, for prior to the Democratic Convention, he declared on NBC's Meet the Press: "I don't think the US is in a position that is inferior today . . . . I would say today the position of the US is strong enough to defend ourselves and our commitments."

Is old seadog Kennedy ignorant of the Polaris-carrying nuclear submarines? Or the awesome power of the Strategic Air Command? If US military might is superior today, when will it become inferior and inadequate?

WORDS HAVE MEANINGS, and the office sought by Kennedy is so crucially important that his statements must stand the most severe test of clarity, consistency and simple honesty. Either he would have apologized to Khrushchev, or he would not. Either the US is strong enough to meet its commitments, or it is not. Either "soft" Liberal bi-partisan policy has failed and eroded the nation's courage in the face of communism, or it has not. Senator Kennedy cannot have it both ways; he cannot pose as a statesman and behave as a demagogue.

Most especially, he cannot promise "new" policies and deliver old ones of proved inadequacy without confirming the suspicion that he stands for election only. His answers to the grave problems facing the nation and the free world are offered in a pair of documents: the Democratic platform, assembled by would-be Secretary of State Bowles, and Kennedy's collected speeches, *The Strategy of Peace* (Harpers; edited by Allen Nevins). For all the hoopla about freshness, vitality and imagination, Kennedy's ideas are stale and shallow. They amount to a long Stevensonian cliche.

The abbreviated television platform (dubbed "a Soviet travelogue" by newsmen who gasped at its awe of Russia) is distinguished chiefly by a vociferous pacifism. On the surface are the standard anti-Communist pledges and challenges, skillfully applied by ex-huckster Bowles, but Peace and Survival are the great moving and shaking causes.

In a display of sophistry worthy of Great Britain's cravenly pacifist Lord Russell, the platform declares: "The common danger of mankind is war and the threat of war. Today three billion human beings live in fear that some rash act or blunder may plunge us all into nuclear holocaust . . . ." etc., etc. War and the threat of war are not new to mankind. What is new is the blindness of peace-mongers to the real peril. Not war, but the war-making forces of world communism threaten mankind, and that threat cannot be lifted unless communism is defeated.

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It is glib and easy to scourge the spectre of "nuclear holocaust" without doing anything serious about the enemy that has loosed it upon the world. If there is "a slow erosion of courage" in this country, it is most evident at the top of the Democratic party.

KENNEDY WOULD ASSURE mankind's illusory "right to peace" through a National Peace Agency, an inspiration of Hubert Humphrey's that would institutionalize the myth of safe disarmament through agreement with a brazenly deceitful foe. With visions of "nuclear holocaust" paralyzing their minds, the Liberals are already psychologically disarmed, and have few qualms about throwing away weapons they won't use.

On the subject of atomic weapons tests, Kennedy is as fuzzy-minded as any ban-the-Bomb militant. Last November, at U.C.L.A., he gave the hot-eyed young Stevensonites the usual diet of nuclear horrors ("children with cancer," "victims of leukemia"), then argued that "for both sides to resume atomic tests today might well turn out to be more of a disadvantage to the West militarily than a help." If tests were resumed, he said, the Soviets might score a crucial breakthrough.

Does Senator Kennedy possess a shred of evidence to show that the Soviets are *not* secretly moving toward such a breakthrough while the US continues its self-imposed ban and talks endlessly at Geneva? Worried Pentagon officials have warned for almost two years against strangulation of our military technology by the test moratorium. A candidate seriously concerned with US arms strength, especially in the face of the massive conventional power of the Sino-Soviet bloc, would see a solid plus for preparedness in fallout-free tests underground or on the fringes of space. But Kennedy bows to the fears of domestic faint-hearts and that amorphous determining factor in US foreign policy, "world opinion."

What would Kennedy do if he were elected?

"One of the first things I would do," he recently told a *New Republic* interviewer, "is bring Communist China into the nuclear test ban negotiations in the hope that this would lead to other things." It surely would; *de facto* recognition of Red China at Geneva would be followed swiftly by its admission to the United Nations—a goal that Stevenson and Bowles, if not Kennedy himself, publicly applaud. On a test ban, on Berlin, on Formosa, says Kennedy, "we have to negotiate and negotiate." But the islands of Quemoy and Matsu are not worth talking about. President Kennedy would give them to the UN, which would surrender them to the first serious assault by the Communists.

Even more than a flood of words, a Kennedy Administration would unleash a torrent of dollars for foreign aid. He would "devise an entirely revamped foreign aid program which will make the long-term commitments essential to successful planning." What this means is an outpouring of American tax dollars—on the order of several billions annually—into five and ten-year programs, over which Congress would exercise little, if any, control. Standing ready are two broad aid channels: the UN Special Fund and the Development Loan Fund.

Aid would go indiscriminately, to friendly, neutral and Communist nations alike. It would build socialism in India and "national communism" in Poland. India particularly is Kennedy's pet; he recalls the aid-giving advice of British Fabian Barbara Ward: "India first, India second, India last." Strangely, in their zeal to spoon-feed socialism in the backward lands, rather than remove obstacles to free enterprise and a property-owning middle class, the eggheads ignore Stalin's classic precept:

> **"It is essential that the advanced countries render aid—real and prolonged aid—to the backward nationalities in their cultural and economic development. Otherwise, it will be impossible to bring about the peaceful co-existence of the various nations and peoples—within a single economic system that is so essential for the final triumph of socialism."**

Kennedy also ignores the strong possibility that US aid is backfiring in Communist Poland. As dollars prop a sagging, slipshod economy, popular pressure for more consumer goods may be eased, and Khrushchev may buy off the discontented—especially if they regard US aid to their masters as a final sign of Washington's acceptance of their subjugation. Aid to the satellites is, in fact, payment of conscience money, and acknowledgment of the bankruptcy of US policy-making four years after the collapse of "liberation."

In Kennedy's approach to diplomacy, talk and money are cheap alternatives to ideas. But nothing can substitute for a will to act. The hard-boiled young egghead from Harvard burns with ambition only. Like the world-weary and frightened intellectuals he courts, Kennedy has a narrow view of what can be done to preserve and extend freedom in the world. It is truly "a time for greatness," but the man of the hour is not Jack Kennedy.

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